

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6618

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

AMCONGEN ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE

USEC MISSION BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: SECRETARY KISSINGER'S JULY 4 PRESS CONFERENCE AT

NATO HEADQUARTERS

DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT AND ZIEGLER

USIA FOR IPS/PE AND IBS

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF JOINT KISSINGER-LUNS PRESS CONFERENCE

AT NATO HEADQUARTERS:

SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS: (OPENING PHRASE INAUDIBLE)...I DON'T WANT

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TO INTRODUCE HIM, BUT I JUST WANT TO GO IMMEDIATELY.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THIS IS SUCH A STUNNING PERFORMANCE BY

THE SECRETARY GENERAL. I WAS PREPARED FOR ONE OF HIS BRIEFER

COMMENTS OF ABOUT TWENTY MINUTES. I HAD TOLD HIM TO SAY SOMETHING

FRIENDLY BUT I SUPPOSE THAT HE COULDN'T BRING HIMSELF TO DO THIS

(LAUGHTER). SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS: OH, I CAN. IT WAS AN EXCELLENT MEETING. SECRETARY KISSINGER: I LIKE THE CONVICTION (LAUGHTER). I REALLY CAN SAY NO MORE THAN THAT I DESCRIBED TO THE COUNCIL THE SUMMIT THAT HAS JUST BEEN CONCLUDED IN MOSCOW, OUR EVALUATION OF IT, A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE CONTENT OF IT. WE THEN HAD A VERY USEFUL, VERY CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION IN THIS PERIOD OF CONSULTATION THAT IS FORESEEN IN THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION, AND AS PART OF IT WE ALSO DISCUSSED ONE OR TWO OTHER SUBJECTS IN ADDITION TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. I WILL BE GLAD TO ANSWER QUESTIONS.

QUESTION: IF WE CAN GO BACK TO THE SUMMIT JUST FOR A MINUTE BEFORE WE TALK ABOUT EUROPE. THERE IS A REPORT IN THE WASHINGTON POST THAT PRESIDENT NIXON MADE A NEW PROPOSAL TO THE SOVIET UNION JUST BEFORE THE SUMMIT. CAN YOU EXPAND ON THAT? ON NUCLEAR ARMS, OF COURSE. CAN YOU EXPAND ON THAT, PLEASE? IT'S IN THE PARIS TRIBUNE TODAY.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I HAVEN'T SEEN THAT REPORT. THERE WERE NO PROPOSALS MADE TO THE SOVIET UNION JUST BEFORE THE SUMMIT. THERE WAS A FULL DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES OF SOLVING THE SALT PROBLEM AT THE SUMMIT INCLUDING SOME NEW APPROACHES THAT HAD NOT BEEN

PREVIOUSLY PUT BEFORE THEM AND I DISCUSSED THAT IN THE PAST SO THAT IT IS SUBSTANTIALLY CORRECT EXCEPT FOR THE TIME.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT WERE THE OBSTACLES IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS, AND WHAT'S THE NEXT STEP?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: (INAUDIBLE PHRASE)...DISCUSSING NATO PROBLEMS WITH AN OBSESSIVE CONCERN. THE OBSTACLES WERE THAT IT DID NOT PROVE POSSIBLE TO FIND A BALANCE BETWEEN OVERALL NUMBERS AND THE NUMBERS OF MISSILES WITH MULTIPLE WARHEADS; THAT THE NUMBERS THAT THE PRESIDENT AND I PRESENTED IN MOSCOW SEEMED TO US THE UPPER LIMITS OF WHAT WAS ACCEPTABLE AND THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT SEE IT QUITE CLEAR TO ACCEPTING THEM. THEREFORE, THE NEXT STEP WILL BE TO SEE WHETHER THE PROGRAM IS EXTENDED OVER A LONGER TIME PERIOD WHEN

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THERE ARE LESS PRESSURES OF THE BUILDING PROGRAMS THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN PLANNED IN A SHORT TIME FRAME, WHETHER A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND AND THAT WE ARE FAIRLY OPTIMISTIC THAT THIS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE.

QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE MOSCOW SUMMIT MEETING, AND WHAT WAS THE SOVIET REACTION REGARDING THE AMERICAN PEACE EFFORTS IN THAT AREA?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THE SOVIET-AMERICAN POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN FULLY STATED IN THE COMMUNIQUE WHICH IS TO SAY THAT WE BOTH FAVOR A RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THAT THIS CONFERENCE WILL NATURALLY THEN DISCUSS THE WHOLE RANGE OF PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE DID NOT DISCUSS IN DETAIL SOVIET REACTIONS TO EVERY INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN MOVE THAT MAY HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE MIDDLE EAST BUT IT HAS BEEN CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD

THAT WE WOULD GENERALLY KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED AND THAT THE UNITED STATES POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOW CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THE DISCUSSIONS WERE CONDUCTED IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, I HAVE ONE QUESTION FOR YOU AND ONE QUESTION FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL. COMING BACK TO YOURS, TURKEY HAS LIFTED THE TOTAL BAN ON OPIUM. WILL YOU BE ASKING TURKEY TO RESTORE THE BAN? DO YOU THINK THAT U.S. AID TO TURKEY CAN BE REVISED WITH PRESSURE FROM CONGRESS, AND DID TURKEY NOTIFY WASHINGTON BEFORE TAKING THIS DECISION? IF SO, WHAT WAS YOUR REACTION? AND THE QUESTION TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, IF YOU MAY...DO YOU THINK THAT GROWING TENSIONS IN THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF THE ORGANIZATION IS DANGEROUS ENOUGH FOR YOU TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES LIKE YOU DID BETWEEN ENGLAND AND ICELAND?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: AS YOU KNOW, THE PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY IS A FORMER STUDENT OF MINE. IT IS ALWAYS DOUBLY PAINFUL WHEN EVEN IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE IS NO COMPLETE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ACTIONS OF THE STUDENT AND CONVICTIONS OF THE TEACHER (LAUGHTER). THE UNITED STATES, NEEDLESS TO SAY, DOES NOT WELCOME THIS ACTION. WE THINK IT IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM. WE EXPRESSED OUR VIEWS TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND WE STILL HOPE TO WORK OUT  
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SOME SOLUTION THAT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM AS WELL AS TURKISH NECESSITIES.

SECRETARY LUNS: WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION DIRECTED TO ME, I MAY REMIND YOU OF MY WATCHING BRIEF. UNDER THE WATCHING BRIEF, I HAVE BEEN IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND I MAY ADD THAT

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USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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SEVERAL GOVERNMENTS OF THE ALLIANCE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL. I AM SLIGHTLY WORRIED ABOUT THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS BUT I AM HOPEFUL THAT A FORMULA MAY BE FOUND TO DE-FUSE POSSIBLE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN TWO VERY IMPORTANT ALLIES OF THE ALLIANCE.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, AFTER THIS MEETING WITH YOU THIS MORNING, PRIME MINISTER TINDEMANS WAS QUOTED AS SAYING HE TOLD THE PRESS IN ARMAMENT TALKS ALL RESULTS ARE NOT ALWAYS ANNOUNCED IMMEDIATELY. HE SEEMS TO HAVE GOTTE THE IMPRESSION FROM YOU THAT THERE WERE THINGS DECIDED IN MOSCOW THAT HAVE NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC. COULD YOU COMMENT ON THAT, SIR?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: NO, ALL THE DISCUSSIONS THAT TOOK PLACE IN MOSCOW HAVE BEEN PUT BEFORE THE NATO COUNCIL. I EXPLAINED TO THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PRIME MINISTER, AS I EXPLAINED TO THE NATO COUNCIL, THE STRUCTURE OF THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS. THERE ARE NO SECRET AGREEMENTS OR UNDERSTANDINGS.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, CONCERNING CSCE--FIRST OF ALL, DO YOU HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT MOSCOW WILL MAKE A MOVE IN GENEVA? AND, SECOND, AFTER THE DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL TODAY, DO YOU HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE CAN BE INITIATED RATHER SOON, AND AT WHAT TIME PROBABLY?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION AT THE COUNCIL ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE THIRD STAGE. THE UNITED STATES HAS NO FIXED IDEA ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE THIRD STAGE. AS I SAID IN MY PRESS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW, WE BELIEVE TWO QUESTIONS REQUIRE SOLUTION:

(1) WHETHER ANY RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE NOW FORESEEABLE WOULD WARRANT A SUMMIT FOR PHASE THREE, AND (2) WHAT THAT RESULT WOULD BE? THESE ARE QUESTIONS WHICH WE ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES WITHOUT PRECONCEPTIONS AND WITHOUT PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS.

QUESTION: GIVEN THE OBSTACLES ON SALT THAT YOU ONLY BRIEFLY MENTIONED THIS MORNING, IT IS A LITTLE HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IT IS PRECISELY THAT YOU ARE FAIRLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT. COULD YOU

SPELL THAT OUT?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I HAVE TO EXPLAIN TO YOU, MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, THE PRESS THAT'S TRAVELING WITH ME IS TRYING TO GET ME TO SAY ON THE RECORD WHAT I MAY HAVE SAID ON BACKGROUND PREVIOUSLY (LAUGHTER). AS I TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR IN MOSCOW, THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN HOW TO RECONCILE THE OVERALL QUANTITIES WITH THE QUANTITIES OF MISSILES WITH MULTIPLE WARHEADS. ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES IS THAT IN A SHORT TIME FRAME, SUCH AS FOR EXAMPLE FIVE YEARS, THE BUILDING PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES MAY BEGIN TO OPERATE AT THE VERY END OF THAT TIME PERIOD SO THAT THE WHOLE

PERIOD WOULD BE OVERLAID BY EXISTING BUILDING PROGRAMS. IF ONE CAN LOOK AHEAD OVER A LONGER PERIOD OF TIME, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE

PLANS WITHIN A TIME FRAME THAT PERMITS A MORE DELIBERATE DEPLOYMENT PATTERN IF THERE EXISTS THE WILL ON BOTH SIDES TO BRING THIS ABOUT.

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WE BELIEVE THAT THE DISCUSSIONS THAT ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE ON THE NATURE

OF THE STRATEGIC PROBLEM WERE, AS THE COMMUNIQUE SAID, DEEP AND, I BELIEVE, SEARCHING. I BELIEVE THAT AS A RESULT THE PERCEPTION OF BOTH SIDES OF THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM HAS GREATLY IMPROVED AND THEREFORE WE BELIEVE THAT IF THERE IS A WILLINGNESS TO TAKE A NEW LOOK AT THIS IN THE LIGHT OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, THAT A NEW APPROACH CAN BE DEVELOPED THAT WOULD LEAD TO CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS.

SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS: IN ORDER TO REASSURE YOU, I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE TOLD THE MINISTERS, THE HIGH OFFICIALS AND THE AMBASSADORS EXACTLY THE SAME THING.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, COMING BACK TO THE SECURITY CONFERENCE, THERE SEEMS TO BE A DIFFERENCE IN LANGUAGE BETWEEN THE OTTAWA COMMUNIQUE AND THE MOSCOW COMMUNIQUE ON THE EVALUATION OF THE PROGRESS

SO FAR ACHIEVED, AND I WONDERED IF YOU COULD EXPLAIN THAT, AND ALSO DID THE RUSSIANS GIVE ANY IDEA THAT THEY MIGHT MAKE A CONCESSION IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO EXPLAIN THAT DIFFERENCE OF LANGUAGE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO A DEBATE ABOUT THE PRECISE SIGNIFICANCE OF ADJECTIVES. AS FAR AS THE FUTURE IS CONCERNED,

I HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE ISSUES THAT REQUIRE SOLUTION ARE TO GIVE A PRECISE CONTENT TO WHAT OUTCOME WOULD BE CONSIDERED USEFUL AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, AS FAR AS OUR ALLIES ARE CONCERNED. WE ARE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR ALLIES. I BELIEVE THEY, TO, ARE PREPARED FOR THAT SORT OF DIALOGUE. IT HAS, IN FACT, ALREADY STARTED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE COUNCIL AND THAT WILL THEN GIVE US A PRECISE YARDSTICK SO THAT WE DO NOT HAVE TO USE GENERAL TERMS TO DESCRIBE WHERE WE ARE GOING.

ACTION REQUESTED BY EMBASSY PARIS: PLEASE DELIVER 30 COPIES TO  
AMBASSADOR ROBERT ANDERSON WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PARTY.  
RUMSFELD

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## Message Attributes

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ATHENS  
BRUSSELS  
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